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THE LOWER STATUS PUERTO RICAN FAMILY. REVISED.

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THIS SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS DESCRIBES THE LOWER-STATUS URBAN AND RURAL FAMILIES IN PUERTO RICO. THE "JIBAROS," THE RURAL POOR OF THE HIGHLANDS, ARE LANDLESS AGRICULTURAL WORKERS WHO ARE MORE ISOLATED, LESS LITERATE, AND LESS ACCULTURATED TO URBAN LIFE THAN OTHER PUERTO RICANS. THEY TEND TO BE IDEALIZED AS THE PROTOTYPES OF THE ISLAND FOLK CULTURE. THEIR FAMILY STRUCTURE IS CHARACTERISTICALLY MALE-DOMINATED AND AUTHORITARIAN. "JIBARO" WOMEN TEND TO COMPENSATE FOR THEIR INFERIOR POSITIONS THROUGH CLOSE ATTACHMENT TO THEIR OFFSPRING, ESPECIALLY TO THEIR SONS. THE COASTAL POOR, VERY SIMILAR TO THE "JIBAROS" OF THE HIGHLANDS, ARE LANDLESS LABORERS ON THE SUGAR CANE PLANTATIONS WHO ARE ENTIRELY DEPENDENT ON WAGES FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE. MORE A UNIT OF CONSUMPTION THAN PRODUCTION, THE FAMILY OF A COASTAL SUGAR CANE WORKER USUALLY LIVES IN CROWDED HOUSING AND LACKS THE DIGNITY OF THE "JIBARO" FAMILY. THE URBAN POOR ARE MUCH MORE DIVERSIFIED AND LEAD A MORE MARGINAL EXISTENCE. AMONG ALL LOWER-STATUS PUERTO RICANS, CHILDREN ARE HIGHLY VALUED, WHETHER FROM CONSENSUAL OR LEGAL MARRIAGES, AND GODPARENTS PLAY A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE FAMILY LIFE. HOWEVER, POPULATION DENSITY ON THE ISLAND IS REACHING CRITICAL PROPORTIONS AND THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT IS ENCOURAGING CONTRACEPTION, INDUSTRIALIZATION, AND EMIGRATION TO RELIEVE THE PRESSURE. BUT URBAN ENVIRONMENT ON THE U.S. MAINLAND CHANGES TRADITIONAL SOCIAL CONTROLS, SOCIABILITY PATTERNS, AND HOMEMAKING PRACTICES, AND FORCES NEW LIFE STYLES AND VALUES. THUS THE SOCIAL CHANGE OCCURRING ON THE ISLAND TRAPS THE PUERTO RICAN BETWEEN THE INSTABILITY OF LIFE THERE AND THE INSECURITY HE FEELS ON THE MAINLAND. (NH)

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THE LOWER STATUS PUERTO RICAN FAMILY

(Revised)

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THE LOWER STATUS PUERTO RICAN FAMILY

(1) In discussing the Puerto Rican family, one must remember at all times that the society of this West Indian island is part of a wider Spanish-speaking world, which in turn is part of our Western Civilization. Thus, in the final analysis, the family in Puerto Rico should be expected to have a great deal in common with the family in Spain, Ireland, Sweden, the United States, et al.

Our interest in this discussion, however, is focused on Puerto Rico, and consequently we shall deal with specific local-historical peculiarities found in Puerto Rican society. In so doing one should be careful not to overstate the significance of these peculiarities, as over against the more widely shared characteristics of family life in the total European-American culture area.

(2) In concentrating on one particular national society out of several dozen constituting the European-American world one runs into more differences of degree than those of structure. Thus all societies of that area are monogamous. Some of them, however, are more rigorous in opposing adultery, concubinage, divorce and pre-marital experimentation than others. None of the Western societies has placed the wife's and mother's authority legally or socially above that of the father's and husband's. Yet it is known that male authority is weaker in Denmark than, let us say, in Greece.

(3) It is also important to keep in mind that statements regarding national or class characteristics are at best probabilistic in nature. When we say that the cult of gastronomy is typically French, we actually mean that we are likely to find more individuals valuing the refinements of cuisine among the French than, for instance in England. Thus all statements about Puerto Rican modes of behavior made in this essay must be understood as referring to their relative frequencies.

(4) The title of this article points out that our concern here is withthe lower status Puerto Rican Family. One knows that comparative social status can be defined in terms of numerous criteria, such as income, housing, occupation, education, clothes, manners, peculiarities of speech, racial origins, church membership, etc. In most cases the identification of social status must be based on several such criteria, which occur in consistent and meaningful clusters.

(5) When dealing with the social status of an immigrant group one must conside: one at a time the standards of status rating applied to it by the majority society (mainland Americans in our case) and those of the immigrant group itself. To many prejudiced

mainland Americans all Puerto Ricans in the United States are low status people with just a few individual exceptions. A member of the Puerto Rican Community, on the other hand, may be keenly aware of a wide range of status differences among his fellow islanders.

(6) The status rating of individual immigrant families by their own community is never identical with the one they enjoyed on native grounds. When moving from the island to New York City many a Puerto Rican family undergoes a loss of "accumulated social assets". In its new position as occupant of a cold-water flat on Tenth Avenue in Manhattan it finds itself down-graded, with no neighbors aware of the good social standing it enjoyed in the native environment.

(7) The same process, however, may operate in reverse and be described in terms of a loss of "accumulated social blemishes". Thus a family which at home had labored under an established unfavorable reputation, may, under the protection of metropolitan anonymity, be able to make a fresh start and move upwards on the socio-economic ladder.

(8) Of the many criteria of lower social status listed above, poverty seems to us the most significant one. If one excepts the cases of recent and accidental reverses of fortune, poverty is most meaningfully related to other such earmarks as housing, clothes, manner, level of literacy, etc.

(9) How much poverty is there on the island of Puerto Rico today? The economic advances made by the island society since the establishment of the semi-autonomous Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in 1952 have been quite spectacular. At the same time, the well-deserved publicity given them by the press has obscured the picture of mass destitution which remains widespread. Here are some figures based on the population census of 1960: (Based on Boricua, La Revista de Puerto Rico. Deciembre 1962, p. 31)

18.2%	of the families have an annual income of more than	$3,000
33.8%	of the families have an annual income between	$3,000 and $1,000
16.9%	of the families have an annual income between	$1,000 and $500
31%	of the families have an annual income of less than	$500

The extreme forms of poverty are alleviated by various Commonwealth Programs: free school lunches, free shoes for impecunious school children, free outpatient clinics, free hospitalization, visiting nursing services, pension and relief plans, low income

housing and the distribution of surplus food made available by the Federal Government.

Well-planned and generous as these policies have been they have not done away with mass poverty and all its usual concomitants.

(10) It is sometimes assumed that the cost of living in Puerto Rico must be much lower than in the continental United States. This is only partially true. The climate of the island, of course, makes it unnecessary to wear warm clothes or to spend money on heating the homes. The alimentary needs of the body are also somewhat lower in the sub-tropical Caribbean area. On the other hand, Puerto Rico is dependent on imported foods including such national staples as rice, beans, wheat flour and dried codfish (bacalao). The cost of freight is added to the prices of these staples. Clothes, domestic appliances and cars also cost more on the island than in the United States.

(11) One could claim, nevertheless, that extreme poverty is a bit more bearable in a place where temperature is never below 68 degrees. Children have no lack of natural playgrounds; the aged lounge on benches around the plaza of their community, neighbors spend long hours socializing outside their small and inadequate dwellings, and many a homeless man may find a shed or a driveway where no one would disturb his sleep. Streams and water-holes in the mountain areas and the beaches along the coast provide accessible facilities for bathing and swimming. Cooking can be done on open-air improvised stoves (fogon). Furthermore starchy fruits such as panapen (breadfruit) are plentiful and inexpensive as emergency resources. There is no intent in these remarks to play down the drama of poverty, disease and loneliness to which many human beings fall prey in Puerto Rico. Yet for purely comparative purposes attention is being called to the relatively less tragic fate of the poor in the less inclement climate of the Caribbean area.

(12) The poor of Puerto Rico are of two basic types - urban and rural. Rural folk are in turn divided into those of the lowlands of the coast, and the dwellers of the highlands. The urban poor may be either of recent rural origin or with an older urban background.

Town people tend to call all rural folk jibaros. Coastal rural groups feel insulted by this term and apply it to the farmers of the mountainous interior. But even these farmers would sometimes use the term in referring to another hamlet or community while excluding themselves from this category. Thus not many people openly identify themselves as jibaros while the term is used loosely with regard to a wide range of socio-economic types.

(13) The reluctance to regard oneself as a jibaro conflicts with the idealization of this type by the literati and intellecutals of the island. The jibaro has been portrayed by them as the true

carrier of the Puerto Rican folk tradition. He was the authentic native " son of the earth" marked off by his own inimitable sense of humor, practical wisdom, shrewdness in his dealings with city people, and a strong spirit of independance. All jibaro proverbs, sayings, songs, games, superstitions, tales of supernaturalism and works of craftsmanship (e.g. home-made string instruments, figures of saints, i.e. santos, carved out of wood, et al) have been reverentially collected and enshrined in the public mind or in public collections.

(14) What sober statements can one make about this sizeable and yet elusive element in the population of Puerto Rico? "True" jibaros appear to be descended from the predominantly white early settlers of the interior of the island. Geographical isolation combined with poverty has made them the least literate element in the insular society, and the least familiear with the urban way of life. Not many true jibaros have had the daring, for instance, to migrate to New York City. Those who did had spent first a few years in one of the coastal shanty-towns or slum suburbs in Puerto Rico, where they underwent a bit of acculturation to city ways.

The well-known drama La Carreta(1952) by Rene Marquez portrays the social fate of such a family. In the first act they are shown leaving their home in the mountains under the pressure of economic circumstances. In the second act we witness their trials and tribulations in the coastal slums of Puerto Rico. The third and last act of the play portrays them as "adjusted" to the urban ways of the Bronx as well as victims of unscrupulous individuals and of industrial accidents.

(15) Many jibaros are landless and propertyless agricultural workers who meet their subsistence needs by selling their labor power. Some of them own their homes but do not always own the lot on which the dwelling is located. Others live rent-free in the home provided by their employer. Occupying a house erected on lands belonging to another person qualifies them as "squatters" (agregados) and implies various customary obligations with regard to the owner of the holding.

Those jibaros who are agricultural wage-earners without property or any outside income are often forced to play a subservient role with regard to their potential or virtual employers, the store-keeper from whom they buy their groceries on credit (between the harvest seasons, zafras) the wealthier neighbors who may give a temporary job to their wife or son, and to many others. They teach their children to behave with proper humility and to render services to their more powerful neighbors and even playmates.

(16) In somewhat different category are those jibaros who own enough land to depend for survival on subistence farming. They raise marketable crops of fluctuating value (such as tobacco or coffee) and supplement cash income with some vegetables, fruit,

chikens and pigs grown and raised by their own efforts. In Jibaro families of this type the father finds himself in the role of the task-master and foreman, whose job is to extract as much work as he can from his small family group. At the same time, he also controls the family expenditures and is thus cast in the role of an occasional "kill-joy". The same function, however, gives him a chance to make a show of generosity and affection by buying things for the home or clothes for his wife and children.

(17) Halfway between the wage-earner and the small land holder is the sharecropper. In the tobacco growing area he splits with the owner of the land the costs of production and shares in the half of the proceeds. Traditionally share-croppers press the members of their family into work in the fields or into services to the landlord and thus again they are found in the role of task-masters and disciplinarians.

(18) As elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world, the Puerto Rican jibaro family is also governed by male authority. The Jibaro man who has limited claims to social and economic prestige is strongly dependent on his wife's and children's deferential attitudes (particularly in the presence of outside observers) for his ego-gratification. Many a jibaro's wife does not begrudge her husband this privilege since indirectly it enhances her own social standing as well. She feels that there is no honor attached to being married to a weak and unmanly husband. In fact, she may even tend to exaggerate his dictatorial masculinity and portray herself as a masochistic victim in the hands of a strong virile tyrant.

(19) Where male authoritarianism appears to be socially recognized norm, women quite commonly evolve indirect methods of defense and compensation. The ailing wife and mother (without being an outright malingerer) often uses her afflictions to secure sympathy and a more lenient treatment. Threats of suicide and frequent unsuccessful attempts at suicide (suicides manques) by Puerto Rican women have been diagnosed by careful observers as attention-getting devices. Quite often, however, suicide in Puerto Rico is committed in an irretrievable manner. The Anglo-American imagination is particularly struck by those cases where the victim soaks her clothes in gasoline and sets herself on fire. Several such cases occur every year along with more numerous but less spectacular forms of self-destruction.

(20) The jibaro mother makes up for her inferior social position by gaining her children's (her sons' in particular) affection and attachment. She may do that by protecting the guilty boy from his father's anger, by passing small amounts of spending money to him and in many other ways. The image of his "suffering mother" has been found deeply embedded in the mind of many a Puerto Rican adolescent boy or grown man. Most Puerto Rican men regard themselves as

natural protectors of their mothers when they are victims of desertion, widowhood, poverty or social abuse.

(21) The jibaros are known to be proud of their numerous progeny which symbolizes the father's procreative vigor and also represents the poor man's only "wealth". It is indeed a proud day in an individual jibaro's life when he walks to a fiesta in the nearest center surrounded by his small flock of four or five children.

(22) The rural folk of the coastal plains are not drastically different from the jibaros of the highlands. Nevertheless, several points of distinction should be brought out. To begin with, most of them are employed by either government operated or privately owned sugar cane plantations. They thus are landless laborers entirely dependent on their wages for a living. They more than often live in primitive barracks where each familiy occupies a one or two-room dwelling (without indoor cooking or toilet facilities) or a section in a similarly inadequate multiple dwelling. They are surrounded on all sides by temporary tenants like themselves and have no illusions of independence that go along with the ownership (by a jibaro) of a small home in the relatively inaccessible mountain fastness. The comparative crowding which characterizes their life deprives them of all privacy and affects their sense of dignity.

(23) the family of a sugar cane worker is more a unit of consumption than of production. The head of the family does not have to act as a task-master since he rarely has access to any gardening or poultry raising facilities where members of his family might be engaged in productive work. As soon as his sons or daughters reach the age of marriage or become employable they tend to strike out for themselves and drift away to wherever work can be secured.

(24) Workers in the cane and their families are also in a much less personal relationship with their employers (private owners, corporation representatives, supervisors, foremen, et al) than the rural folk of the highlands. For practical and traditional reasons the jibaros of the interior have to live up to the standards of conduct acceptable to wealthier neighbors on whose goodwill they often depend, i.e. the store-keepers who sell to them on credit, landowners on whose land they build their homes, local politicians and other power-wielders. This may account for a somewhat higher rate of the more respectable church weddings anf for more regular attendance at church services in the mountain area, also for a somewhat stronger resistance to the inroads of Protestantism. *

(25) The urban poor of the island are much more open to observation on the part of the middle class and upper class people of the ci cities than are the jibaros. The slums and shanty-towns of Puerto Rico are adjacent to the more respectable neighborhoods and no one

*Insertion on page 12

can escape the sight of human misery which they harbor. The city poor more often come to the attention of medical men, hosptial personnel, social workers, police authorities, school teacher, members of the clergy and other professional people. This being the case it is rather surprising to discover that sociologists and other researchers in Puerto Rico have given them less attention than to rural populations.

(26) This element in the population of the island is of course much more diversified than anything one would observe in the countryside. We find among them widows with or without dependent children, abandoned wives, jilted girls, orphans, invalids subsisting on small pensions, uprooted jibaros, unemployed and unemployable individuals of every possible origin, mentally inadequate persons, women of easy virtue, and many aged people (single or in couples), et al. They survive by engaging in a wide variety of small and often temporary occupations as pedlars, delivery men, unskilled repairmen, gardeners, part-time domestics, lottery ticket salesmen, newsboys, etc. Some of their activities conflict with municipal regulations, police rules and law in general. This would be true of illegal number games (bolita), the sale of privately manufactured rum (canita), prostitution, etc. Centuries of existence under indifferent and inefficient administrations combined with widespread poverty have resulted in much more lenient attitudes toward these "marginal" and outlawed occupations than a moralist conditioned by life in prosperous democratic communities would expect. Here is an area where one has to approach human behavior with a bit of historical perspective and the faculty of empathy.

(27) Governement relief, municipal aid, private charity and sporadic contributions by relatives keep many of these city poor not only alive but less unhappy than one might imagine them to be. In part this is due, as pointed out earlier, to the climate of the island but also to the gift of sociability with which the people of Puerto Rico are so richly endowed.

(28) One of its expressions is their extreme fondness of children. In giving their care and affection to children, the Puerto Ricans are less proprietary than other Europeans and Americans. They easily make room in their poor and crowded homes to children of divorced parents, illegitimate offspring, orphans, abandoned children and foster children (hijos de crianza) in general. Many people enter marriage while having children by previous common law or legalized marriages. It is not unusual to have a family with three or four children none of whom are the offspring of the married couple. As a rule such adopted children or children by previous marriages are treated as well as their adoptive parent's joint progeny.

* Insertion on page

(29) A special type of relationship known as godparenthood (compadrazgo) can also be considered as a partial corrective to poverty and loneliness among lower status Puerto Ricans. A person sponsoring a child at baptism and christening becomes his life long godfather (padrino) or godmother (madrina). Where two godparents (compadres) preside over the same ritual this co-participation establishes a special social tie between them. Similarly all godparents are bound in a special way to the biological parents of their godchild. Thus most Puerto Ricans have ritually sanctioned friends, allies, protectors and confidants. The practical value of such a relationship may vary from case to case. Nevertheless, the institution of godparenthood obviously extends the individual's trust and reliance beyond the immediate family, and in some cases provides a person with a substitute for a defaulting family group.

(30) The love of children so common in Puerto Rico appears in a somewhat less idyllic light if viewed against the background of demographic statistics. In 1940 the population of the island was 1,869,255. In 1950 it had reached the figure of 2,210,703 and in 1960 it was 2,349,544. The total land area of the island being 3,421 square miles, the population density of Puerto Rico is nearing the ratio of 700 per square mile, one of the highest in the world. Considering the slender natural resources of the island, the situation is rapidly reaching the point of critical intensity.

(31) There are three basic ways of relieving this growing population pressure: birth control through contraception, emigration and industrialization. All three have been encouraged by the government of the Commonwealth, unfortunately with inconclusive results. Contraception has met with strong opposition on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, which has, however, failed to reverse its growing popularity. Industrialization, combined with tourism, has created numerous jobs and indirect sources of income to the island treasury with its heavy programs of social welfare. And, finally, emigration has relieved some of the immediate pressure on the island economy by reducing the number of unemployed and encouraging the flow of subsidies by emigrants to their needy kin.

(32) The advocacy of contraception has also run into non- religious opposition. Some Puerto Rican men have been reported as feeling that the use of contraceptives was humiliating to their wives or to their own male dignity (or both). Other observers have claimed that shyness and awkwardness in communication between married people made the use of contraception difficult. The provisional figures of birth rate for 1961 give 23,4 (per 1,000 population) for the United States, 31,0 for Puerto Rico. Nevertheless there has been a steady decline in the successive birth rate figures over ten years. The much sharper rate of decline in the rates of mortality, however, has neutralized the limited gains made by the application of birth control.

(33) We have mentioned earlier the frequency of common law (consensual) marriages among lower status Puerto Ricans. Dr. Sidney Mintz in focusing on one specific rural area (which he calls Barrio Jauca) has established the fact that out of 183 marital unions 134 were of the consensual variety.(*) For the island at large the ratio of such common law marriages has been variously estimated between 25% and 35% of the total. The historical roots of this practice go to far to be examined here. The phenomenon is not restricted to Puerto Rico but has been observed throughout the Caribbean area and in parts of South America.

(34) Dr. Mintz shows very clearly that such marriages are as a rule initiated by means of a socially standardized procedure (a "ritualized elopment") which is viewed by the community as equivalent to more traditional legal and religious observances. (**)

(35) Children born to such unions suffer only minor social disadvantages in their home areas, but run into inconveniences and embarrassments when they migrate to cities or to the mainland of the United States. This is due to the growing importance of pension plans, social security benefits, veteran pensions and insurance policies, all of which have to rely on properly legalized relationship between spouses and between parents and children.

(36) In the meantime people say that "vale mas un buen amancebado que un matrimonio mal llevado" (a good consensual union is worth more than a bad marriage). the prohibition of divorce by the Roman Catholic Church has also been used to justify consensual unions where the two parties are not tied to each other for life. The growth of Protestant congregations in Puerto Rico may be in part due to the toleration of divorces by most of them, even though their strong emphasis on personal morals obviously checks the trend toward easy divorces.

(37) From the Anglo-American point of view one of the striking features of Puerto Rican marriage relationship is the prevalence of jealousy. As could be expected, male infidelities are somewhat more frequent and less rigorously condemned by the community. When the woman's husband shows a decline of personal interest in his wife she is likely to seek "professional" advice from a spiritualist medium or a practitioner of folk-medicine (or folk-magic).

(*) and (**) Sidney W. Mintz, - Worker in the Cane. A Puerto Rican life Story. Yale University Press. 1960. pp. 89-92

When a man suspects his wife of growing indifference he looks around for a possible rival and is very likely to challenge and even assault the presumed seducer. Painful and dramatic as they are these tensions and actions are indicative of somewhat higher romantic and erotic expectations on the part of married lower status Puerto Ricans than what we observe in our more placid and sedate society.

(38) The Puerto Rican family as we find it in New York (or Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, etc.) should not be expected to be a duplicate of its counterpart on the island. To begin with, mainland Puerto Ricans are keenly aware of the social prejudice they encounter on the mainland. Two conflicting reactions to social hostility may take place. The members of a family group may, so to say, "close their ranks", i.e. experience an intensified sense of solidarity and view their home as a haven of refuge. The other possible reation is that of resentment against the group to which they belong, whose characteristics are the alleged cause of its rejection by the outside world.

(39) Where local prejudice against Puerto Ricans assumes racialist undertones (which seems to be always the case), it may have a divisive effect on family unity and solidarity. Puerto Rico is a land of racially mixed marriages (particularly in the lower social strata), and children in many homes run the whole gamut of pigmentation from the very dark to the Mediterranean light. In the North American social environment lighter-complexioned youngsters have a better chance of social and occupational acceptance than their darker siblings. Brothers and sisters are thus separated by differential opportunities, and envy and resentment enter their life.

The same factors may invade the relationship between two differently colored spouses or in-laws, or grand-parents and grand-children. The dark grand-mother who hides in the kitchen while her lighter grand-daughter, a high school, entertains her classmates in the the living room, could serve as a symbol of the impact of race prejudice on the Puerto Rican family In New York.

(40) Another source of anxieties among mainland Puerto Ricans is constituted by their gradual loss of influence over their children. In the natural course of events, Puerto Rican children learn English better and faster than their parents. With the language they acquire a whole world of values, attitudes and rules of adolescent etiquette which remain incomprehensible to their elders. Before long, the English-speaking child may serve as an interpreter in his mother's or father's dealing with the outside world and may come to feel that his parents are unsuited or even "inferior", to the American way of life.'

(41) Quite often Puerto-Rican women have an easier chance of finding employment than their husbands in our city economy, and thus

become principal family providers. With this economic change goes a re-definition of male authority, and many a family head feels that something has gone wrong in his domestic life. Some accept their new dependence on their more successful wives and turn to a half-way justifiable idleness. In the meantime, the unemployed man's children loose their traditional respect for him, and refuse to accept his attempts at reasserting his authority.

(42) Many other changes take place in Puerto Rican family life in the new social environment. At home they lived under what sociologists call "primary social controls", i.e. in small close-knit communities, where neighbors, relatives, storekeepers, school teachers and all others exercised a restraining influence on individual behavior. The anonymity of New York life makes them feel uncomfortably free, "on their own", and also fearful of how this might affect those loved ones (wife, daughters, sons, etc.) whose behavior they would like to supervise.

(43) The easy and casual sociability of the island has also been affected by the new urban world. The climate of the mainland and big city traffic have made street life of the Caribbean type next to impossible. Instead of occuppying small family homes with doors and windows open on the outside world, New York Puerto Ricans find themselves living in isolated apartments behind closed doors.

(44) Numarous other material details undergo far-reaching changes, e.g. methods of laundrying, patterns of cooking, sleeping arrangements, shopping practices, etc. ad infinitum. None of these taken by itself may be viewed as profoundly significant; in combination they change the whole style of living. Eventually the values of the island give way to something new and different.

(45) When an entire ethnic group is undergoing such a change, it could not be assumed that its individual members will move along at the same pace or will react to the challenges of transformation in the same manner. Family circles may thus be expected to be torn between nostalgic homesick old-timers, ambitious and pushing opportunists and the more rational synthesizers between the old and the new. The island home which was left behind becomes idealized and/or vilified quite realistically, just as the urban world of mainland America is extolled or run down in accordance with the fluctuating circumstances and changing moods. The influx of new migrants from the island keeps alive the overall ambivalent attitudes of the Puerto Rican community. Numerous individuals get tempted by the short distance and the low airplane fares and go home only to turn around and come back to New York .....

(46) Trying to describe and understand the lower status Puerto Rican Family of our day is on the whole not easy. The island society is undergoing numerous changes briefly identifiable by such

terms as urbanization, industrialization, secularization, welfare economy, diffusion of literacy, growing life span, increasing population, etc. When individual Puerto Rican families fly over to the mainland and attempt an adjustment to the new socio-economic world of the United States, they find themselves subjected to numerous additional pressures. Neither back home nor here in the States can their existence be described as stable and secure. Thus in order to understand any specific Puerto Rican family group one has to "locate" it on the total map of social change which this national society is undergoing at this time.

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*(continued from page 6) Correspondingly, the sugar-cane workers of the coast have a much higher incidence of the less respectable consensual or common-law unions and have proven more receptive to the appeals of Protestant proselytizers.

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